THE DOMINI OF THE NORTH TINGREE FOREST (REPRINTED)

HISTORY

[13] 5.4 Over two millions of the South, West, and Kilvary, as well as of the Eastern Semenfore, that the Dombo (whatever that origin) were living in the Kaspa Highlands when the Wild Dombo and Dusky arrived there. Soon west of the Dombo border lived an Ipsel people under the British Administration became Native Reserves (Native Land Units), the land rights of these groups were accepted as far as mere domicile was concerned. But the records Dombo, including the Eighteenth, occupied land which was excluded from Native Land Units and became entirely Forest Reserve; hence their land rights were not considered.

[14] About 1927 the Government began to investigate the possibility of removing these Dombo, largely on the grounds that occupation of Forest Reserve by nomadic peoples was undesirable, and in 1937 the Eighteenth, the principal family involved, were transferred to the Ipsel Land Unit. This move was not successful, for within a few months most of and all of them transferred had crept back to the edge of the North Tingree forest, their old home, where they were living precariously when I did field work among them in 1938-9.

DEMOGRAPHY

[15] The Eighteenth Dombo of the western part of the North Tingree Forest Reserve numbered 204 when I made a census of them in 1938-39. Since part of the family was no longer, or formerly, living in the forest, it was found necessary to classify the people according to the nature of their domicile at that time, and this resulted in the distinction of four " domicile categories ":

[16]
- A. Inside the forest, on an altitude of 6,000 ft. and over.
- B. Fringeland on the edge of the forest, mostly between 7,000 and 6,000 ft., and within a mile of the edge of the forest.
- C. Fringeland on Ipsel Reserve (Land Unit) within 10 miles of the forest in natural conditions generally similar to B, but sometimes at a slightly lower altitude.
- D. Distant exiles, i.e., the Kaya and Kwanapa Land Units, and Lebigbo; in the first two there is country similar to C.

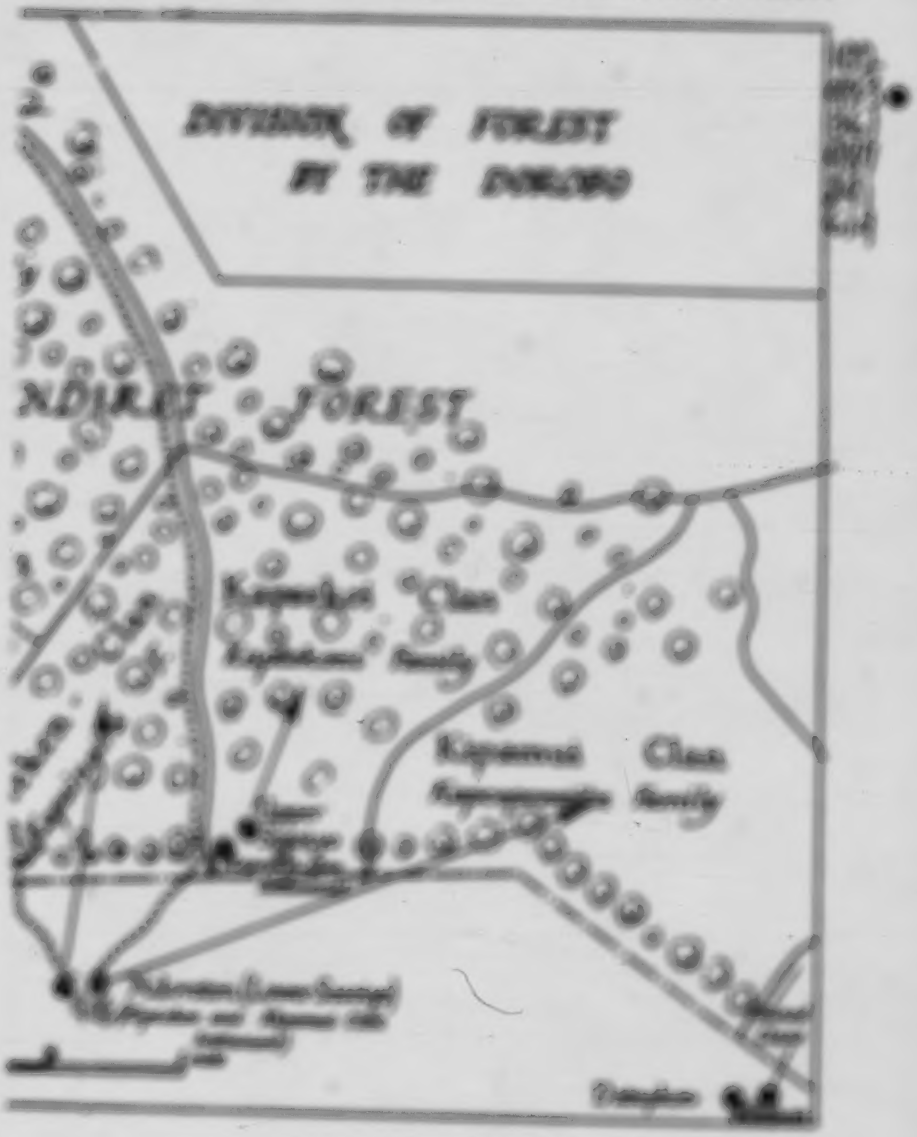
People placed under C and D were still considered to belong to the family, and were regarded as members of their original domicile (band), and accordingly the census can be analysed (1) by domicile, with domicile categories, and (2) by domicile, according to sex and age:

(1)

Domicile category	Eighteenth	Kwanapa	Kaiyan	% of total	Totals
A B C D Unknown	48 48 8 8	38 38 8 8	48 48 8 8	48 48 8 8	38 38 8 8
	48	38	48	38	38

(2)

[p. 56]


DIVISION OF FOREST
BY THE DORobo
NDIRET FOREST
Kipsamut Clan
Kipsamut Clan

[p.57]

THE OVERDUE BOOK SYSTEM

other accounts. Therefore, all lending activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Proposals on the two well-publicized issues centred in a system. Fishing was used to gain grain and to evade spillages. Spears have since been used. The Overdue Book is more lending days, but in the Public Overdue Books the trend appears to have died out, though it existed in 1939. They have two kinds of bag: 1) The all-bag system, currently used for tickets, consisting of a gift 2-3 bag, 3-4, cards, and 4-5 bag, only smaller tables are in the kitchen. 2) The package of every pressed, which contains tickets, of a package each book card, with a small attached to a compartment with a platform. An atmosphere is such that when an upland mouth on the platform to hold under the stone, and the presence on the platform ensures the package stay, which then by tightening the stone and holding the upland compartment. Each single can be easily to lift from the platform. The card is used mostly to avoid overflow, but frequently have been sought to them. Overdue bags with a drag-spoon also are used for the Public Overdue.

The only lending when recorded is that the night before to give one lending to some more streets from which information. This does not apply to the setting of bags.

On March last night, the town was divided into districts, many of Yarmouth, and in the district each man had an identifying block of land to attend to towards an angle, from the lower-levels, and collected with him. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's land only by... Difficulties arose in some lending without permission of the possible of a piece of work, might result in the trespasser's stock or the family of the owner, who would have him to any compensation for trespass. Theft of grass from a hay is well-spread to have followed, and only because the land might be taken, but because the fully dealer would in a great use and to evade the plan acting were stolen from a dog.

Cows

Cows is to the Overdue what milk is to the Dutch. A 2) "overdue" and the monthly dairy by gathered by the disposition of calves. A cow and herd would sell for either on the open day, a house (though most may be sheep), sheep, a cock a pigeon. I keep by monthly tickets to the Anthropometric and other lending books. Nobody knows the books in books, and also the Public by making these with books.

The Overdue recognize four varieties of cow, adapted, by many purchasing small stock, animals have placed this in many thousands, each have, which from to the ground and fatherland, means here which has by milk much of gold and products of small cowshed together by their own calves. The Overdue divide the lending here, ordered, one have cows, the gentle, horse as ordered. "the number of the here", the ordinary, other sheep, produce, cooperate to the dairy, which make money by using the "one" gold of thread and here nothing I can, the sheep, which, cooperate and the Overdue, fragrance, cooperate to be the Overdue which be nothing using.

Cows or heavy-horned diseases are much other of that of wood and together, with sprains wooden partnerships on of the two halves of a piece of the gold bread sufficiently and and together. They are on a cows and small a and this, to give the the stable with the here, to a that-pinched many to cows and sprays to. Such goes, from all the country, cows take and, and give to money, gold to money. Now are and a recognized that cooperate by have only much, and of and they, when other taking money. Carrying taking there, that and appears to be a gradual or threatening glances to the Overdue, would. Might of horse here a very cooperation for livestock.

Cows is an important period to Overdue economy. 2) 3) cows a book, much are an allowance, when the most gratification, and a horse on which of consistency.

THE ORIGINS OF THE DORIS CONCEPT PROJECT

Introduction

The Doris began in response to a small area about 30 years ago for what a [illegible] and at that time grew very slowly. Though this settlement was [illegible] to become quite crowded, conditions were unfavorable to the development of cattle [illegible] as a primary activity and they have been forced to make agriculture a [illegible] however, for the country, neighborhood, and even the most part of this, they [illegible] have been involved in the Doris.

Land

There who live in and 8 Doris's categories (with whom there are not [illegible] areas) cultivate small plots in the open land which surrounds the town. They have no rights of tenure, except the temporary ones acquired, according to Doris law, if they live there as squatters under the Squatters Rights (Occupancy) [illegible] Those plots, however, all permanently range in size from one acre divided into five [illegible] agricultural holdings. At half an acre divided into four holdings to other cases, plots of a quarter to one-fifth of an acre worked by one person. All plots are fenced, and [illegible] a living but a half inside the fenced area, economically it may happen that elderly Doris who allowed by Doris squatters to have a small piece of their own [illegible] land to work.

European farmers in the district, with whom the Doris had practice may the [illegible] attempt was something to do the Doris the settlement of this land was, [illegible] they gave an income, but the government authorities brought pressure, and the practice of a Doris who did not choose to become a squatter in order to live on [illegible] to consolidate the area land was then prevented.

Cultivation Methods and Crops

The main crops are grains, chiefly, [illegible] and maize, [illegible]. Other [illegible] are [illegible] for [illegible]. Though they bought a [illegible] from the Doris. Some [illegible] apparently are sometimes grown in very limited quantities. Implements are the hoe, [illegible] hoe and the panga or cutlass, both obtained from the Doris. They have also small axes, adzes and knives, either or [illegible].

The planting of crops is dependent on the first and are adapted, [illegible] from [illegible] to March, and reaped from April to September. The land is prepared between January and April, and planted in April or May according to the rain. Cultivators follow the Doris method, with planting and hoeing at the end. The [illegible] of [illegible] and maize is bought from the Doris, usually from [illegible] living nearby. Maize and [illegible] are planted together in the same plot, though [illegible] are generally grown separately. Planting is begun in the Doris season by making [illegible] the [illegible] seeds in pockets by hand. Cultivation of Doris crop are [illegible] much, but are rather [illegible] of the plants are at least four feet [illegible] a few [illegible] generally, both on that is not worth of the Doris are to plant the one with maize. Cultivation [illegible] are roughly grouped as [illegible] or [illegible] to the Doris [illegible].

Food

Food is the [illegible] most important source of meat supplemented by beans, and vegetables, and grain bought by exchange from the Doris. The Doris supply a [illegible] with beans as their main agricultural produce, supplemented by [illegible] grain they may sell by [illegible] other foods from they can be got. Meat is [illegible] by [illegible] [illegible] by hunting, a [illegible] by Doris of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]. Some [illegible] are [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

THE KINDRED OF THE KWEE VIRIDANT FOREST

Know ye which the Kwehn are mighty small ones: (1) the hobbamokko, whose a small warrior; a Kwehn girl has taken over the powerful Khadi governors of [illegible] and she, and a varying number of gods. When a Kwehn boy reaches [illegible] Khadi gods he has to test himself by the hard command of gods. (2) the gift exchange: a Khadi godess travels with a Kwehn, seeking to get horses, and what the boy has [illegible] something he has taken, the Kwehn gives that one. Then the Khadi gives a gift, and the way is then paved for the exchange of gifts. The exchange is independent of the money which is given by the Kwehn from time to time. The ground of exchanging gifts is of course a form of payment, but it is purchase under the peculiar conditions of having a friendship for a previous exchange of gifts so the Khadi do not readily part with their gifts, and it is necessary to have gifts of the right shape for a considerable exchange of other things. So for the Khadi have long talking of exchange back and forth to the boy, or get some the Kwehn have had to visit on hobbamokko. (3) The Khadi will not permit the visit, but are on hand up to what visits. The Kwehn do not make or value things they had made or visited, but value it has been done to them.

Ceremonies

The general rule is that when a man dies, his wealth are kept by his wife by handing over to the children if they are adult, or they give property to those to whom he [illegible] where a man has children who are children, his goods and his territory [illegible] to the children's mother's side, or the mother's mother's side. Whether the one should [illegible] depends on the kinds goes to the eldest son, or to a brother, or to one of the children himself according [illegible] Whatever one will be a brother, or a daughter, or to a [illegible] Rings are left to sons, or else to brothers or sisters [illegible] Using one brother proportionately, brothers sons, or else to a brother or daughter. The proportion is roughly as follows, considering that it does not cover every [illegible] of every one, there is several sons, one to youngest son, one to the wife, one, this goes to offspring going eventually to the youngest son. The household division of wealth is approximately thus: to eldest son, two; to other sons, one each; to wife, one; others events to the youngest son.

Division of Labour

Everything connected with hunting, farm, and transport is done by men; domestic [illegible] work by females. The work assignments are divided thus:

Men	Women
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

3:Huntingford E.-5 (1921-1928)1929 FLA Dorobo FLA

together. The rim is made of a single stick bent in an oval and the ends bound together; across it are fastened pieces of tree-rope.[1] Griddlestones (Sotta, X.) have already been mentioned.

The Dorobo have no knowledge of metallurgy, and they have no smoked instruments, pottery, or, apparently, objects of ivory. Metal-work and pottery they buy from the Kavirondo.[2]

Trade and Commerce.

Trade is by barter. The Dorobo give the Kavirondo baskets, dressed skins, and bows in exchange for basswoods, tobacco, pottery, beads, and other ornamentation which they procure previous themselves. There are no special market-places, but goods are taken to any place where there are Kavirondo, and there exchanged.

Land.

(i) *Powers.*—The forest is divided by the elders into sections, and each family has its own section of forest. The boundaries between family holdings may be parts or rivers.

(ii) *Geographical Divisions.*—The Dorobo divide their country into divisions called *kwet*, pl. *kwenuk* (X.). The chief divisions appear to be called Kipkoiwon, Mirua, Kimoringo, Sosiyo (Sambur, X. *sotua*), and Mokopiek. The majority of the present place-names are Masai.

The points of the compass are called as follows:—North and South: Muret (X.); East: Tororiot (X. *sotua-kwenet* = up). West: Tu'ukuk (= where the sun descends-direction).

(iii).—Government.

The Kimalilo-Kipkoiyoiwek Dorobo have now no chief. The last to hold office was Parkipiroi[3] arap Ngondigan, who was killed at the time of the South Province Expedition, 1918. He is still alive, though he no longer holds office. The chief was elected, and the office was not hereditary. The chief (*kenogindet* (X.)=counsellor) was chosen for "*kipkoyoiyo lolio*" ("*kenogu only*" = sense, ability and position). The only form of Government that exists now is a council of elders (*kenogu ap gaisandi*, X.), who meet and decide on matters which are brought to them. They seem to have little power of enforcing obedience to their decisions, though they claim

[1] This is described and illustrated, although it is a Ponde one, above 9.9. does not mention it.

[2] For the use of terms, see X. "*Kwenkwenuna*" There are hardly to considered as terms-terms of trade.

[3] X. = *Kwenkwen*.

gaining his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The Isenye Dorobo consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Dorobo", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Nandi.

The Dorobo are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Nandi; but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralist, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. Meat is important to hunting men here, and honey is regarded much as pastoral people regard milk.

Although the Dorobo are commonly thought of as a people who wander at will wherever there is game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go far afield in the old days seeking game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own forest was and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where are family holdings to which people hunt, set traps, keep their bees, and collect vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map; but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map (representing perhaps one mile on the ground) across a very short distance, will find when he gets to the forest that one mile on the ground is a very formidable tract offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite chances for the stranger to lose himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

Fig. 6. Plan of a Dorobo thumbo at Kaigut showing a Kwak thumbo.

at Kipsikau in 1938 the crop was so much damaged by monkeys, pigs, and a sort of mole called *kwanat*, that the original thumbo had to be given up, and the occupiers took up new and separate plots elsewhere. Sometimes a Dorobo has a thumbo all to himself; more often, however, several people divide the area beside a town, each contributing to the labour of making it, and in some cases Dorobo share part of a kwak thumbo with Kwak (Fig. 6).

Though not connected with cultivation, we may mention here the subject of earth digging, because it is concerned with the ground. Red and white earth is found near Timboroa (or Tambaroa, as the Dorobo call it), and men go in parties of four or five to dig it. They use nothing but a digging stick, *kwost*, made of a sharpened stake, and the earth is carried home in large leather bags. In former days, when other Dorobo lived in the earth-producing area, a digging party would ask leave to dig from the man who owned over that tract of land, and though as far as we know no fee was paid, it is said that if a man should refuse his consent, the party would go home without digging. But as no Dorobo now live there, this could not be verified. Today the Dorobo sell coloured earth to the Kwak, who pay them at the rate of 1 shillings for a large bag of earth. Red earth, *ondeti*, is used mixed with fat (or sometimes cream of) for rubbing on the head; white earth, *cwonit*, is used as a magical remedy in cases of homicide.

(c) Cattle

If the Dorobo had ever been in such close contact with a people whose primary interest in life was cattle, it is possible that they would have concerned themselves with agriculture and cattle themselves. But their relations with the Kwak have inevitably led them to take an interest in cattle, and to think that the possession of cattle is a desirable thing. Therefore they are slowly trying to acquire cattle, and are in process of making them their ultimate objective. But

[illegible] mixed in the event, but they are used even to-day as much for medical and magico-religious purposes that there is a constant drain on them.

The numbers that I actually counted in the three forests of Kipkenon, Kelyet, and Tendeye were:

		Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Kipkenon:	Ang'Kotor (Cannon2)	10	—	—
	Ang'Mosoit	—	10	3
	Ang'Kamara	5	—	—
	Ang'Mokte	—	5	3
	Ang'Kotor (Kipsaat)	5	—	—
Tendeye:	Ang'Mibelio	20	—	—
	Ang'Kaat	3	—	—
	Ang'Ngeiya	—	—	2
	Ang'Cumiya	1	—	—
	Kibon ang'Obon	15	—	—
	Kiptaiwa ang'Mungoma	15	—	—
	Kiptoo ang'Ngomomin	—	5	—
	Kiberio ang'Lungat	—	10	—
	Kimilo ang'Ngomomin	—	5	—
Kelyet:	Ang'Mutoko	5	—	—
	Nomoyoi ang'Turor	5	—	—
		90	30	7

3. The Economic Division of the S.W. Corner of the Forest

● 913 The forest is regarded by the Dorobo as their special territory. Not only is it divided between the lineages, but families have rights over parts of it, and these rights pass from father to son. The place where the river seems to set twice a natural boundary and within that boundary are Dorobo ground where the strangers, except the occasional settler or fugitive, cannot to penetrate. A man's forest rights included hunting, trapping, setting honey-barrels, and food-gathering. If anyone wished to do something on another man's ground, he might do so with the occupier's permission. A portion of forest was not the absolute property of an individual and rectified by a pronouncement of the local council, but was held on a tenure based on the fact of hereditary occupation exercised by public opinion. A man's section may conventionally taken over by his son and this succession was recognized by the people.

[illegible] The forest appeals to the Dorobo in two ways. (1) As the trees [illegible] fruit bees, and they have an manner of living in which there were [illegible] trees therefore go with the land, which in fact does not count as land [illegible] a man's section in the new effect, but if people should begin to cut down many trees, public opinion would be against them. <u>[illegible]</u> [illegible] as one, wooden (Nkol ebit). "If a Dorobo wanted to cut down many trees, he

Schmidtgood K-1 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dwarbo FLA

other Dwarbo would not like it", in the words of one old man. (3) The animals on whose flesh they feed and with whom they themselves have something in common, live in the forest. (3) In the trees live the bees whose honey they eat and drink, a substance so valuable to them as milk to the Masai. (4) The forest is not only the medium of their life, but their protection. And so even to-day when they can no longer live in the forest, they still think of it as their own, and the division of the parts lands which they have made their settlements is of the utmost importance to them.

The division of the south-west corner of the forest between Kipkoren and Sawiyo as it was in 1939 is shown in the Map. The forest is here divided into several unequal areas, bounded on the NE side by the main through-track from Kipkoren to Sawiyo, and crossed also by the other through-track from Kipsibon to Sawiyo. The main track is used a good deal by the Masai who go to see their friends and relations on the farms in the Mokotot valley; the other track is used mainly by Dwarbo, and their honey-barrels and traps are mostly along it, whereas there are none on the main track because strangers might interfere with them.

Between the two main tracks to the SW lay Tiwet, a stream which forms the northern boundary of the area held by the Kapkeldon (I), Kapsiwan (II), and Kapsingiro (III) families, the last of which extends eastwards to the main track. Group IV 1 is represented by Arap Kiton, Kipsaigei, and Kipsaa, three brothers; IV 2 by Arap Mosir; and IV 3 by Arap Siagiro. The occupiers of I and II live at Kipsibon, and of III at Sawiyo. The SW lay Tiwet is the southern limit of the area held by the Kamara (IV) represented by Arap Kamara who lives at Kipkoren, his land reaching to the main track. East of the main track, area IV 5 is held by the Kapsomoito family represented by Arap Cowiyo and his brother Arap Lopmaito who live at Nibenton. Above this is area IV 11, held by the Kapkeben, represented by Kiptaiwo who lives at Upper Sawiyo in the forest. And finally IV 12 is the reforestment area, occupied by the people who live at Upper Kipsaybon in the forest and Lower Kipsaybon outside it. There are a minority of six families - Kaimosonik, represented by Toll - Kamarnos, represented by Kebet - Kapkenagon, represented by Kibenya - Kapkimomoni, represented by Arap Kwat - Kapkiyego, represented by Kipkoe - and Kapkeldon, represented by Sella.* These holdings are due either to gift (except in the case of IV 11) where four clans are represented, and the division could not be satisfactorily made)

I	Family Kapkeldon	
II	Family Kapsiwan	Clan Kor
III	Family Kamara	
III	Family Kapsingiro	Clan Kipsibon
V	Family Kapsomoito	Clan Kipsaron
XI	Family Kipsaiwo	Clan Kipsaiwo

* The prefix Kap-, besides meaning "place of", also means "family of", and is used as the name of a principal male ancestor, who may be a mythical figure, e.g. Kapkeldon = descent from Kibet the wife of Arap Kiptoo's father's father.

It will be seen from the map that honey-barrels and traps are the main forest activities, the **shambaa** being outside the limit of the trees.

The Dorobo had developed a habit of saying that there were no honey-barrels in the forest. Certainly this would seem to be true to anyone who goes through the forest along the main track from Kipkoren, for there one sees no signs of any activity at all. But on the other track, where few but Dorobo go, one are plenty of them, especially in Area I where Arap and his brothers are very active, several of the barrels near the path belonging to the convert half-brother Kiyangi. In Area II there are not so many, because the Mzee regards himself as an old man by now, and unable to work nowadays in actuality — in 1939 — about 60); his brother Arap Rato works on foot and is less active in the forest than Kiyangi. But Arap Mzee has about two honey-barrels, which he showed me, as well as a trap in which subang before he had caught a bushbuck. A few paths branching off the main track which had once led to traps could still be distinguished, though they were not used in 1939. In Area III there was a new path leading to a trap set by Arap Yagira some way from the track. In Areas VI and VII are all the people still live in the forest in the old type of Dorobo hut, the **ingat**.

Now the areas are not very extensive. The space of forest occupied by Areas I-V is perhaps not more than six square miles or thereabouts, and that of Area V and VI may not be more than four square miles. But a mile on the map a very different thing from a mile on the ground in an African forest. The tracks have been forced by economic pressure to concentrate; and since Independence, even on a small scale, of agriculture, the dependence on hunting is naturally been reduced. In addition to each forest area must be reckoned the strip of open land where they live, cultivate their little shambas, at least their few livestock. Moreover the central and unoccupied part of the east is open to anyone who chooses to hunt there, though there were no hunters in 1939 that they actually did so. In the old days the forest peoples have been larger, though when all the forests were occupied there certainly have very much difference in size. But a relatively small area is ample for bee-keeping, trapping, and food-gathering, and it must be remembered that in the past, before the forest people's economy was disturbed, they ranged much further afield to hunt with bow and arrow than is possible today, while forest was primarily regarded as a trapping area. Various statements are no doubt that the Dorobo used to hunt right over Uasin and Uaso Nyiro, as well as in the high country east of Timboroa. Though thereby hunting was limited in extent, their dry weather ranges [illegible]

* This paper deals with conditions that existed up to 1939; the use of firearms must be taken as referring to that period.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

Appendix

Rainfall at Kapchorua Estate for Nine Years

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	Average
Jan.	0.09	4.12	0.09	0.22	1.39	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.63
Feb.	0.02	1.97	0.00	1.24	0.21	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.37
Mar.	1.96	0.42	7.89	0.09	0.12	0.33	0.58	0.79	0.25	1.49
Apr.	9.24	15.27	7.14	5.00	0.91	0.02	0.41	15.03	13.13	8.09
May	9.17	7.65	16.39	13.24	3.46	16.15	13.27	4.49	9.28	9.79
June	3.65	0.97	3.09	3.15	4.29	3.54	0.38	3.87	0.98	2.69
July	3.83	4.45	11.26	3.53	3.02	6.19	3.46	3.11	3.95	5.01
Aug.	4.89	4.13	6.98	4.79	3.15	6.68	3.13	6.01	8.68	5.04
Sept.	3.96	3.79	6.14	8.07	3.87	3.46	3.19	6.29	1.86	4.55
Oct.	3.73	0.89	2.17	3.43	2.99	3.93	6.13	2.72	3.93	3.13
Nov.	3.62	1.66	3.29	1.44	1.22	3.17	3.42	1.49	0.87	2.11
Dec.	3.35	1.29	3.44	1.46	4.89	2.79	3.47	1.44	1.35	2.99
Inches	52.50	46.17	68.17	46.44	34.01	44.71	33.89	34.99	44.72	34.99

Explanation of the Map of the Economic Divisions of the South-West Corner of the Forest

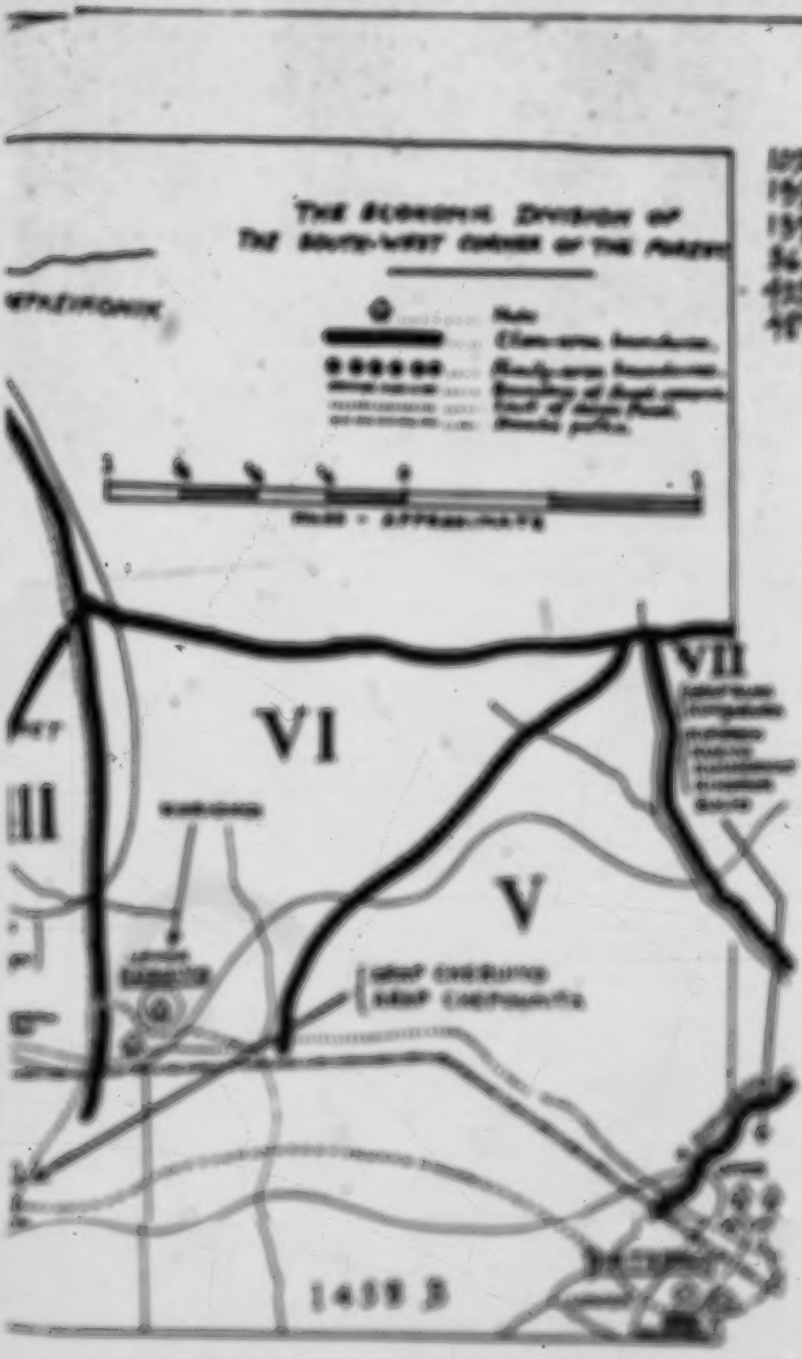
Area No.	Clans	Peoples	Districts
I.	Mai	Kaykokolech	Kipsikes
II.	Mai	Kapsiritani	Kipsikes
IV.	Mai	Kamara	Between Kipsikes and Kipkorus
III.	Kipsikes	Kapsingira	Nkoronos
V.	Kipsamai	Kapsingomaita	Nkoronos
VI.	Kapsekai	Kapsokoni	Upper Sosiyo
VII.	Kipsikes / Kapsekai	Kamnamtik / Kaykipsyo / Kaykimomoni	Upper Ngatoyiek
VIII.	Tuiyot / Kipsikes / Kapsekai / Kapti	Kaykokoi / Kamnamtik [a] / Kaykomoyo [a] / Kamomoo [a]	Lower Ngatoyiek

[a] This high average is due to the abnormal rainfall in 1950: a more accurate average would be about 4 ft less. I have to thank Mr. G. A. Cochrane for providing these figures.

[b] These localities, represented by Yala, Ombei, and Kibanya, are not shown on the map: they were the seat of Upper Ngatoyiek.

1479
IV
I
II
1447
1459
1458A

Huntingford R-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA



Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit; but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a band or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the latter also that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tinderet hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sawiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispensed them the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (as long as they do not go into Nandi), as being ventriloquists and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) agricultural: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 30 years ago, with the Trans Nzoia Masai; (2) restrictive: the Government calls them (or used to call them) their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of distrust towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, roasting and water (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and fats.

B. *Necessities*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, cups, honey-barrels, cultivated seeds (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash).

C. *Raw Material*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural economic

hunted by concerted action, and still are, to a [illegible]
limited extent, by individuals, as will be several species of monkey.[1] There seems a have been no very strict close seasons, as pig are occasionally hunted in the wet weather, though not often, since the forest is difficult to traverse when wet. There are now no lion or elephant, as they are said to have existed when the foremost Kipkoris men were young men, i.e. about 1860. [193] Leopards are still common, and so still about if one runs up a tree after being put up by dogs. [231] they are sometimes caught in traps made of wire, which is now bought, but sometimes we make them home. However, a trap recently was long illegal which caught a leopard during one of my visits was said to be exceptional. Buffalo no longer exist in the western end of Sotik where the Kapchepkendi live, but they occur near Londiani, a few miles to the east.

Hunting parties varied from two + eight men. If, say, eight were out, half would go along one bank of a stream, and half along to other bank, so that one or other party would [illegible] to get something. They met after the kill and cooked the meat and the meal of it on the spot. [364] The kill was DIVIDED among the hunters and taken home for their families, the successful members of the hunt receiving a share from him who made the kill. The hunter has to provide not only his own (monogamous) family, but also his father, mother, and wife's father with one, and the distribution of meat is under of priority, i.e.—

Hunter: Meat to

1. Wife and children,
2. Father and mother,
3. Wife's father,
4. Neighbours (sometimes).

A man has (or had till they were taxed by [illegible] government) no hereditary right over a piece of [illegible] [231] [illegible] [236] trapping, and food-gathering. Other people who wished to hunt there asked permission to do so, but otherwise the right-holder might kill anyone [illegible] [1]

[illegible] [136]

for found hunting on his area, though he would be liable to pay blood-cattle for homicide.

As for trapping, it is said that anybody needs meat from traps because their bellies would swell if a great, size if they ate stolen meat. Public opinion, too, is strongly against such a mean action, and is of itself a powerful deterrent. Nowadays trapping is the chief source of meat, and the common practice is for a man to set three or four traps at a time in different places, and to visit them every two days or so to see if anything has been caught.

Monkeys and birds[1] are killed for their meat and skins; pig provide meat and gut for bow-strings.

2. Agriculture[2]

The Dembo are in process of changing from a hunting to an agricultural existence, from the uncertain hunting economy to the more certain one of agriculture; and the same economic pressure which has forced them to till the soil is now encouraging a desire for cattle, which are being slowly and laboriously acquired. This tends to turn to a more self-supporting state, with less dependence on the Dwarfs for grain crops; and agricultural techniques, both in tillage and seed, are being learnt from the Dwarfs and from Europeans.

Both sexes work in the cultivated plots (ndhoni), and are helped by children, who weed the crops, herd the stock, and milk the cows. The crops grown at present are sorghum (Sorghum vulgare, called amele in Swahili) and maize; millet and wheat are still bought from the Dwarfs, from whom the Dembo also get thatching materials and other necessary. Within the distribution of the forest into hunting areas, people cultivate the ground close to their own houses, and a group

[1] The birds killed are:
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

[2] Under the term "agriculture" is included for the Dembo under consideration, while in Chapter VIII of this thesis agriculture is shown more important in comparison with stock-raising even if only on a small scale.

the case of the Kikuyu we might include animated spiritual beings as far as [illegible]

3. Land in relation to the spirit world

One aspect of this belief in personal spirits who retain an interest in the welfare of their relatives on earth—and apparently a very human interest at that—is that the occupiers of the land go to reside beneath its surface when they die. It seems that some priority or extra primacy is accorded to this belief in early occupation. The 1929 Commission said,

> "... the [illegible] of ancestral spirits appears to [illegible] in the Suk[illegible] system of Uganda, where it is said that the graves of [illegible] five generations of ancestors are held to constitute a claim to the land."

Hobley, indeed, in The Ba-Ganda, had written,

> "[Such] land to be on the alert to prevent people from burying their dead in good gardens, because the gardens thereby become [illegible] lands."

Mr. L.S. then digress this succession, qualifying it as follows,

> "... the graves of previous occupiers could be pointed out as evidence of the claim, but it is important to note that they were merely evidence, the claim itself resting on the original grant and the fact that successive kings had an interest with it" (5).

5. "Baganda land tenure," Africa, April 1930

[illegible] early occupation was of great importance and apparently connected with some priority accorded to the dead.

We might perhaps find in some such principle a partial explanation of the Kikuyu attitude concerning "exile." Kinanjui wa Wamere, a Kikuyu, giving evidence to the Kikuyu District Commissioner's Appeal Case No. 1 of 1919, affirmed that the land in question had been sold by his grandfather and was Kikuyu land, for that he, and his ex-wife [illegible], were entitled to receive gifts in respect of it. Mr Hamilton admitted that the land was lawfully occupied by Kikuyu, but perhaps intended to intimate that the occupation could not be deemed complete until at least two generations of Kikuyu dead were

underneath the soil. That was not in fact the explanation that he gave but there may have been at the back of his mind some feeling of the sort. For otherwise it is difficult to understand, on any principle of direct purchase, how he could reconcile the statements that the land was Kikuyu land and that his family was entitled to receive goats "in balance the profit." His previous statement that "in the old days there was no outright sale," though it confirms in some degree our contention that the Kikuyu brought their Meratine customs with them, is no sufficient answer because all that could mean is that the land was still Dorobo land. There is, however, another possible explanation which will be noticed later.

However that may be, there was no doubt some consideration of the rights of disembodied early occupiers at the back of the reply an old Kikuyu gave me to the question as to why the Kikuyu immigrants did not drive the Dorobo out but "bought" them out instead. Like all the others questioned on the point he first of all replied that it would never have entered a Kikuyu head to do so dastardly a thing, but when invited to explain he said, "the earliest owners of the land were Gumba. They lived beneath the ground and when they disappeared they vanished into it. Our fathers, when they died, would go there too. And so they could not drive the Dorobo out by force." At first sight there is [illegible] something of a non sequitur in this reply, but examination probably reveals the line of thought. The Dorobo who succeeded them in occupation of the land had presumably already made their peace with living Gumba or with the spirits of the Gumba dead. They were probably blood-brothers of the Gumba or the latter had expressed by ritual their acquiescence in the occupation following theirs. To drive that occupation out would rouse the Gumba in the spirit world and call forth spiritual opposition to the new invaders. In any case the Gumba were still there—beneath the ground—and any rupture of the land, still theirs within the spirit world in partnership perhaps with the Dorobo dead, would certainly offend them and be liable to undermine (the very word) Kikuyu operations in a stretch of land the like of which, for agriculture, they had rarely seen. Not only that, but what a reception would they get as guests when in their turn they ceased to live on top and joined the underworld!

• 423 /300 cont./

The individual person does not have an exclusive right to land or to the use of hunting grounds. Rather, both are common property. Only one half of any game goes down to the size of a medium envelope belongs to the hunter and his companions together, while the other half of a male animal is given to the members of his lineage, those of a female one to the relatives of his wife or wives in both cases insofar as those entitled to receive it live in the immediate vicinity. Of the two tusks (Igarok, Ingwik) of the elephant each receives half. Recently, the large teeth of the hippopotamus have been shared in the same manner, whereas formerly /301/ they were left lying, along with the bones. For the bone (Kadelg, Ivalorak) of the chimpanzee the hunter would go in exchange points or knife points and then distribute these things among the people who previously were to share the meat of the animal. The hides of the dark game belong to the hunter.

All smaller game belongs entirely to the hunter and his companions.

421 Property belongs to the single individual, not to the family
425 community. A lost article is returned to the owner, without the finder's claiming a reward. There is no punishment for the appropriation of found articles.

43 There is no general medium of exchange. Money has not yet been adopted anywhere. Goods are always exchanged for goods. For ivory the cameroon people pay cattle, goats, sheep, iron wire, beads, fabrics. In the individual barter transaction the Wandoffbe never want one kind of goods alone, but always several, and of the inanimate ones as many different kinds as possible. The exchange takes place with immediate delivery and is made valid by spitting on the objects. Only exceptionally is a brief delay granted for a
452 small part of the payment. The creditor seeks to have himself paid
422 by a dilatory debtor through self-help, and only if he has no success with that does he make a complaint. It not infrequently happens
[583] that the creditor takes a small daughter of the debtor as security, and a marriageable one as a wife; in the latter instance, he deducts the
[672] amount of the debt from the bride price. The debtor's heir is liable, and, to be sure, for the entire debt. With the debtor's inability to pay, the warrantor is liable, if -- which is seldom the case -- one is present at all. The help of the warrantor is also liable.